THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION



1775 Massachusetts Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20036-2188 Tel: 202-797-6000 Fax: 202-797-6004

Afghanistan Index

Tracking Variables of Reconstruction & Security in Post-Taliban Afghanistan

www.brookings.edu/afghanistanindex

Updated February 23, 2005

Michael E. O'Hanlon
Adriana Lins de Albuquerque
For more information please contact Adriana Lins de Albuquerque at aalbuquerque@brookings.edu

SECURITY INDICATORS

SIZE OF AFGHAN ARMY

Time	Trained forces	Forces on duty
July 2002	390 ¹	N/A
August 2002	$1,200^2$	N/A
November 2002	$1,000^3$	N/A
January 2003	$1,800^4$	N/A
September 2003	$7,000^5$	N/A
January 12, 2004	$9,000^6$	4,500 ⁷
March 2004	N/A	$5,700^8$
April 2004	N/A	7,5009
June 2004	N/A	10,000 ¹⁰
July 2004	13,000 ¹¹	N/A
August 2004	N/A	$14,000^{12}$
September 2004	15,000	$15,000^{13}$
October 2004	N/A	15,000 ¹⁴
November 2004	N/A	N/A
December 2004	$18,000^{15}$	$18,000^{16}$
Goal	70,000 ¹⁷	$70,000^{18}$

SIZE OF AGHAN POLICE FORCE

Time	Police forces on duty
July 2004	$22,300^{19}$
October 2004	$28,000^{20}$
December 2004	$33,000^{21}$

NUMBER OF AFGHAN MILITIA FORCES

Time	Number of Afghan militia forces
Pre-war levels	90,000 (and 100,000 reserves) ²²
September 2004	$87,000^{23}$
December 2004	$50,000^{24}$

AFGHAN MILITIA FORCES DISARMED SINCE APRIL 2004

Afghan militia forces disarmed (cumulative)	
September 2004 13,000 ²⁵	
October 2004 18,000 ²⁶	
December 2004	$25,000^{27}$

NOTE: It is estimated that 40,000 soldiers are needed to provide security in the country. "Passing the Hat Round for the Rebuilders," *The Economist*, April 3, 2004.

NOTE: NATO officials estimate that the desertion rate among soldiers in the Afghan army was 22% in 2003. Tim McGirk and Michael Ware, "Remember Afghanistan," *Time Magazine*, March 8, 2004.

U.S. TROOP FATALITIES IN OPERATION ENDURING FREEDOM²⁸

NOOI FATA			T-4-1 d4b-	
	Killed in	Accidents/	Total deaths	Wounded in
77.	Action/Died	Other		Action
Time	of Wounds	Deaths		_
Oct-01	0	1	1	2
November	0	5	5	6
December	3	2	5	27
Jan-02	1	9	10	2
February	0	2	2	1
March	8	11	19	44
April	4	0	4	3
May	1	0	1	1
June	0	3	3	0
July	0	0	0	6
August	1		1	1
September	0	1	1	3
October	2	3	5	3
November	0	1	1	3
December	1	0	1	5
Jan-03	0	5	5	5
	0	6	6	2
February	2	8	10	3
March	2			11
April		0	2	
May	1	1	2	8
June	3	2	5	0
July	0	1	1	8
August	4	0	4	8
September	1	1	2	17
October	1	2	3	2
November	6	0	6	21
December	0	1	1	11
Jan-04	0	9	9	15
February	1	1	2	15
March	2	1	3	9
April	1	1	2	8
May	5	2	7	24
June	1	2	3	30
July	0	2	2	25
August	2	1	3	20
September	3	1	4	31
October	4	1	5	24
November	3	4	7	10
December	0	1	1	7
Jan-05	2	0	2	4
February	0	2	2	5
Total as of	U	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	J
February	65	93	158	429
23, 2005	US	73	150	447

NATO TROOP FATALITIES IN AND AROUND AFGHANISTAN²⁹

Year	Fatalities	Nationalities
2002	15	3 Danes, 9 Germans, 3 Brits
(March onwards)		
2003	9	7 Germans, 2 Canadians
2004	7	1 Canadian, 1 Brit, 1 Norwegian, 1 Italian, 1 German, 2 French

TROOP LEVELS

Time	ISAF (NATO)	OEF (U.S.)
	5,000 ³⁰	4,000 ³¹
February 2002	3,000	
March 2002	5,000 ³²	5,200 ³³
April 2002	5,000 ³⁴	5,200 ³⁵
May 2002	4,500 ³⁶	$7,000^{37}$
June 2002	5,000 ³⁸	$7,000^{39}$
July 2002	N/A	N/A
September 2002	4,700 ⁴⁰	$7,800^{41}$
April 2003	5,000 ⁴²	N/A
September 2003	5,000 ⁴³	9,800 ⁴⁴
August 2004	$6,500^{45}$	$18,000^{46}$
September 2004	8,000 ⁴⁷	$18,000^{48}$
October 2004	$10,000^{49}$	$20,000^{50}$
November 2004	9,400 ⁵¹	$18,000^{52}$
December 2004	8,500 ⁵³	$16,000^{54}$
January 2005	9,000 ⁵⁵	$18,000^{56}$
February 2005	8,000 ⁵⁷	$18,000^{58}$

ISAF TROOP LEVELS BY COUNTRY⁵⁹

Country	Number of troops as of
	August, 2004
Albania	81
Austria	3
Azerbaijan	22
Belgium	250
Bulgaria	34
Canada	1,576
Croatia	22
Czech Republic	19
Denmark	49
Finland	47
France	565
Germany	2,072
Greece	127
Hungary	130
Ireland	11
Italy	491
Latvia	2
Lithuania	6
Luxembourg	9
Netherlands	153
Norway	147
Poland	22
Portugal	8
Romania	32
Slovakia	17
Slovenia	18
Spain	125
Turkey	161
United Kingdom	315
United States	67

NOTE: NATO took command of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in August 2003. It is the first mission NATO has undertaken outside of Europe.

RECONSTRUCTION AND AID WORKERS KILLED BY TALIBAN FIGHTERS

Time	Reconstruction and aid workers killed
March 2003- December 2003	12 ⁶⁰
January - August 2004	39 ⁶¹
Total as of August 30, 2004	51

ELECTION WORKERS KILLED AND WOUNDED⁶²

Period	Election workers killed in Taliban attacks	Election workers wounded in Taliban attacks
	attacks	attacks
May – August 2004	12	33

STRENGH OF TALIBAN⁶³

Increase in Taliban strength in	
Afghanistan in August	50%
2004 compared to 2003	

Time	Estimated number of Taliban forces
November 2004	$2,000 - 10,000^{64}$

OPIUM PRODUCTION⁶⁵

Year	Production in	Opium value
	metric tons	
2001	185	N/A
2002	3,400	\$2.5 billion
2003	3,600	\$2.3 billion
2004	N/A	\$2.8 billion ⁶⁶

NOTE ON OPIUM PRODUCTION TABLE: 2.3 million Afghans are believed to be employed by the opium industry in the country. Victoria Burnett and Peter Spiegel, "Fear of Fighting and Economic Ruin Hold Back Bid to Stamp Out Opium," *Financial Times*, January 4, 2004.

ECONOMIC & QUALITY OF LIFE INDICATORS

GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT (GDP)⁶⁷

Year	GDP	
	(excluding opium production)	
2001/2002	\$2.46 billion	
2002/2003	\$4.05 billion	
2003/2004	\$ 4.7 billion	
IMF projection	\$5.6 billion	
for 2004/2005		

GDP PER CAPITA⁶⁸

021 1211 0111111		
Year	GDP per capita	
2001/2002	\$123	
2002/2003	\$186	
2003/2004	\$199	
IMF projection	\$246	
for 2004/2005		

AVERAGE DAILY WAGE⁶⁹

Year	Average daily wage of an Afghan worker	
During the Taliban regime	\$2.70	
As of March 2004	\$6.25	

REAL GDP GROWTH⁷⁰

Year	Real GDP growth
2001/2002	N/A
2002/2003	20%
2003/2004	16%
IMF projection	15%
for 2004/2005	

PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT⁷¹

Time	Enrollment	
Pre-war	1 million	
2002	2.96 million ⁷²	
March 2004	3.5 million	
December 2004	4.8 million ⁷³	

NOTE OF PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT TABLE: "Education really is in terrible shape, from preparation of teachers to quality of school buildings" says Professor Margaret Jo Shephard who is working on an education project in Kabul. "Number of children going back to school does not tell the story." Carlotta Gall, "Afghan Students Are Back, But Not the Old Textbooks," New York Times, December 27, 2004.

ACCESS TO BASIC SERVICES⁷⁴

Time	Percentage of population with access to electricity	Percentage of population with access to clean water	Percentage of population with access to sanitation	Percentage of the population with access to gas
Pre-war	6%	N/A	N/A	N/A
March 2004	6%	13%	12%	8% ⁷⁵

HOUSEHOLDS IN AFGHANISTAN DRINKING UNSAFE WATER

Households in Afghanistan that drink unsafe water 60% (2003)⁷⁶

CEREAL PRODUCTION⁷⁷

Time	Growth in cereal production compared to previous year	
2002	80%	
2003	50%	

INTERNALLY DISPLACED PEOPLE

Month	People internally displaced	
	within Afghanistan	
July 2003	$300,000^{78}$	
March 2004	180,000 ⁷⁹	

REFUGEES AND INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS

February 2005 3.6 million⁸⁰

<u>PLEDGES MADE TO AFGHANISTAN DURING THE INTERNATIONAL</u> DONORS CONFERENCE IN BERLIN APRIL 2004⁸¹

Amount pledged in aid and low-cost loans	\$4.4 billion
Amount needed over the next 7 years according to the Afghan	\$28 billion
government and the Asian Development Bank	

PLEDGES MADE TO AFGHANISTAN 2001-2003 AND DISBURSEMENT⁸²

Country	Total pledges 2001-2003	Total disbursed since 2001
	(millions of dollars)	(millions of dollars)
United States	3,300	1,428
Japan	500	448
European Commission	1,245	386
United Kingdom	331	190
Germany	379	171
Canada	273	129
Netherlands	162	103
World Bank	600	89
Saudi Arabia	220	78
Spain	148	77
Italy	99	70
United Arab Emirates	70	70
India	310	69
Norway	93	63
Sweden	142	45
Denmark	106	45
Iran	500	33
China	152	30
France	62	30
Kuwait	45	20
Qatar	20	20
Australia	20	20
Pakistan	100	18
Finland	32	13
Belgium	34	12
Asian Development Bank	610	11
Austria	12	11
South Korea	45	10
Ireland	12	10
Switzerland	25	9
Luxembourg	5	4
Turkey	15	3
Greece	5	2
Portugal	5	2
Russia	60	0
Oman	6	0
Total	9,743	3,719

NOTE: Only pledges directed towards humanitarian and reconstruction are included in this table. They are inclusive from 2001-2003 and have a disbursement range of 1-6 years depending on the donor. "Afghanistan Reconstruction: Deteriorating Security and Limited Resources Have Impeded Progress; Improvements in U.S. Strategy Needed," General Accounting Office, GAO-04-403, June 2004.

DEVELOPMENT INDICATORS FOR AFGHANISTAN⁸³

Indicators	Afghanistan
Ranking in the United Nations 2004	173 rd place
Human Development Index	(178 th place being the lowest ranking)
Infant mortality rate (2003)	115 per 1,000 live births
-	("among the highest in the world")
Mortality rate for children under 5	172 per 1,000 live births
(2003)	("among the highest in the world")
Main reported causes of death for	Diarrhea: 25%
children under 5 (2004)	Respiratory tract infections: 19%
	Measles: 15%
Maternal mortality rate (2004)	1,600 deaths per 100,000 live births
Life expectancy at birth (2002)	45 years for males
	44 years for females

EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS

25% of the labor force is unemployed

HEALTH CARE STATISTICS⁸⁴

Number of medical doctors per	0.1
1,000 people (2001)	(average among developing nations is 1.1)
Hospital beds per 1,000 people	0.32
(2001)	(average among developing countries is 2.7)

POLLING/POLITICS

OCTOBER 2004 ELECTION RESULTS⁸⁵

Candidate	Percentage of votes
	(8,128,940 votes where cast, 8,024,536 valid)
Hamid Karzai	55.4%
Yonous Qanooni	16.3%
Haji Mohammad Mohaqiq	11.7%
Abdul Latif Pedram	10.0%

INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE ELECTION DAY SURVEY: 9 OCTOBER, 2004⁸⁶

AFGHAN PERCEPTION OF THE SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN

Question to Afghans	Findings
Do you think things in Afghanistan are moving in the	Right direction: 89%
right direction?	Neither: 9%
	Wrong direction: 2%
Since the end of the Taliban government, is your	Getting better: 84%
living standard	Staying the same:14%
	Getting worse:2%
In the next year do you think things will	Improve: 92%
_	Stay the same: 7%
	Get worse: 1%

ELECTING A NEW GOVERNMENT

What should be the first priority of new government?

Create jobs: 8% Remove Al Qaeda:4% Eliminate Taliban:3%

Strengthen national army and police: 7%

Reconstruction: 17% Economic development: 11%

Disarm commanders and warlords: 50%

HUMAN RIGHTS RESEARCH & ADVOCACY CONSORTIUM: JUNE-JULY 200487

Question to Afghans	Findings	
	Overall	Kandahar
Compare the security situation in your	Improved: 76%	Improved: 35%
province to one year ago	Worse: 15%	Worse: 45%
What is the most powerful position in	Governor: 38%	Governor: 42%
your province?	Militia commanders: 32%	Militia commanders: 53%
	Head of Army or police: 20%	Head of Army or police: 1%
Should the government do more or less to reduce the power of commanders?	More: 88%	More: 93%
Are there more or less weapons in the	More: 14%	More: 17%
hands of commanders in your area than	Less: 59%	Less: 19%
a year ago?	Same/Don't know: 27%	Same/Don't know: 64%

INTERNATIONAL REPUBLICAN INSTITUTE POLL: MARCH-APRIL 2004⁸⁸

Question to Afghans	Findings
Is security your primary concern?	Security: >60%
Have law and order improved in the country?	Yes: 65%
Are warlords and local commanders the main sources of instability in the country?	Yes: 65%
Are the Taliban a source of instability in your community?	Yes: 9%
Are the persistent presence the Taliban an obstacle to greater progress nationwide	Yes: 32%
on the reconstruction front?	
Do you believe the government of President Karzai would have accomplished more	Yes: 83&
without the competing powers in the country?	
Have overall living conditions in the country have improved in the last 2 years?	Yes: 77%
Have overall living conditions in the country have improved compared to 5 to 10	Yes: 90%
years ago?	
Will you vote for President Karzai in the October election?	Yes: 78%

ASIA FOUNDATION POLL: FEBRUARY-MARCH 2004⁸⁹

Question to Afghans	Findings	
In what direction is Afghanistan heading?	Right direction: 64%	
	Wrong direction: 11%	
Are you aware of the upcoming election?	Yes: 91%	
Do you plan to vote in the election?	Yes: 81%	
Are you confident that the election will be a free and fair	Yes: 37%	
process?	Don't know: 60%	
Do you think the buying of votes will be a problem in the	Yes: 60% ⁹⁰	
election?		
Do you think cheating in the counting of the votes will be a	Yes: 50% ⁹¹	
problem in the election?		
Do you think elections will make a difference?	Yes: 77%	
(Asked of women only) Will your husband or male elders give	Don't know: 35%	
you permission to vote?		
What is the most important national problem?	Security: 37%	
	Economy:29%	
Do people in your area feel free to express their opinion under	1%	
the Taliban?		
Do people in your area feel free to express your opinion now?	52%	
Did you worry about your personal safety under the Taliban?	Rarely or never: 36%	
Do you worry about your personal safety now?	Rarely or never: 64%	
How do you rate the security situation in your area?	Excellent or good: 53%	
	Fair or poor: 46%	
How do you rate the performance of President Karzai and the	Performance of Karzai is good or excellent: 62%	
Transitional Government?	Performance of Transitional Government: 57%	
What is your opinion of the Taliban?	Very unfavorable: 62%	
	Unfavorable: 13%	
	Favorable: 13%	
How do you view the United States?	Favorable: 65%	
How do you view the United Nations?	Favorable: 84%	
How do you view foreign aid workers in Afghanistan?	Favorable: 80%	

UNITED NATIONS OFFICE OF DRUGS AND CRIME SURVEY 200392

Opium poppy growers that intend to increase their production in	69%
2004	
Farmers that have not been growing poppy that intend to start	43%
doing so in 2004	

¹ "Marching Into Afghanistan's Future," New York Times, July 24, 2002.

- ² Pamela Constable, "Defense Chief Denies Strife With Karzai," Washington Post, August 18, 2002.
- ³ Todd Pitman, "Afghan Warlords, Government Decide on Structure of New Afghan National Army,

"Associated Press, November 7, 2002.

- ⁴ James Dao, "Wolfowitz, in Kabul, Calls for Rebuilding," New York Times, January 16, 2003
- ⁵ Pamela Constable, "Key Security Initiatives Founder in Afghanistan, "Washington Post, September 19, 2003.
- ⁶ Dan Morrison, "Afghan Soldiers Face New Life, "Newsday, January 12, 2004.
- ⁷ Dan Morrison, "Afghan Soldiers Face New Life, "Newsday, January 12, 2004.
- ⁸ Tim McGirk and Michael Ware, "Remember Afghanistan?" Time Magazine, March 8, 2004.

⁹ "Passing the Hat Round for the Rebuilders," The Economist, April 3, 2004.

- ¹⁰ Victoria Burnett, "In the US, Aghans Want Karzai to Tell it Like it Is," Financial Times, June 14, 2004.
- 11 "State Department Outlines Afghan Reconstruction Progress," United States Department of State, July 26, 2004, Fact Sheet, (usinfo.state.gov/sa/Archive/2004/Mar/26-847415.html [August 5, 2004]).
- ¹² Eric Schmitt and David Rodhe, "Taliban Fighters Increase Attacks," New York Times, August 1, 2004.
- ¹³ Craig S. Smith, NATO Runs Short of Troops to Expand Afghan Peacekeeping," New York Times, September 18, 2004.
- ¹⁴ Zalmay Khalilzad, "A 5,000-Year First," *Wall Street Journal*, October 7, 2004.
- ¹⁵ David Gollust, "U.S. Envoy Reports Progress on Afghan Security," Voice of America News, December
- ¹⁶ David Gollust, "U.S. Envoy Reports Progress on Afghan Security," Voice of America News, December 21. 2004.
- ¹⁷ "The New Afghan Army is Struggling," *The Economist*, September 9, 2004. ¹⁸ "The New Afghan Army is Struggling," *The Economist*, September 9, 2004.
- ¹⁹ State Department Outlines Afghan Reconstruction Progress," *United States Department of State*, July 26, 2004, Fact Sheet, (usinfo.state.gov/sa/Archive/2004/Mar/26-847415.html [August 5, 2004]).
- ²⁰ Zalmay Khalilzad, "A 5,000-Year First," Wall Street Journal, October 7, 2004.
- ²¹ David Gollust, "U.S. Envoy Reports Progress on Afghan Security, "Voice of America News, December 21. 2004.
 ²² "The Military Balance 2001/2002", International Institute for Strategic Studies, London.
 ""The Economist September 9, 2004.
- ²³ "The New Afghan Army is Struggling," *The Economist*, September 9, 2004.
- ²⁴ David Gollust, "U.S. Envoy Reports Progress on Afghan Security," Voice of America News, December 21. 2004.
 ²⁵ "The New Afghan Army is Struggling," *The Economist*, September 9, 2004.

 Normal Taliban Isn't Only Worry;
- ²⁶ Pamela Constable, "As Afghan Vote Nears, Taliban Isn't Only Worry;

Many Cite Intimidation By Local Militia Leaders," Washington Post, October 4, 2004.

- ²⁷ David Gollust, "U.S. Envoy Reports Progress on Afghan Security, "Voice of America News, December 21, 2004.
- ²⁸ Troop casualties from October 2001-January 29, 2005 from Defense Manpower Data Center, Statistical Information Analysis Division, Department of Defense.
- (web1.whs.osd.mil/mmid/casualty/OEFMONTH.pdf [February 23, 2005]). Data from January 30 until present as reported daily by the Department of Defense at (www.defenselink.mil/news/casualty.pdf
- ⁹ Email communication with Lt. Howard Leader, ISAF Media Operations, Kabul, December 18, 2004.
- ³⁰ Michael R. Gordon, "U.S. and Britain Agree on Expanding the International Security Force in Afghanistan, New York Times, February 2, 2002.
- ³¹ John F. Burns, "International Troops Help Bring Order to Kabul's Streets," New York Times, February 22, 2004.
- ³² Warren Hoge, "Britain Sends 1,700 Troops to Afghan Fight, New York Times, March 19, 2002.
- ³³ Michael R. Gordon, "Fielding an Afghan Army Is Months Off, U.S. Finds," New York Times, March 21,
- ³⁴ Douglas Frantz, "Turkey Will Take Command of the Security Force in Kabul, New York Times, April 30,
- ³⁵ James Dao, "Rumsfeld Resists Calls to Build Up Military Forces," New York Times, April 19, 2002.

- ³⁶ U.N. Extends Tenure Of Afghan Forces, *New York Times*, May 24, 2002.
- ³⁷ Eric Schmitt and Thom Shanker, U.S. Sees Hunts for Al Qaeda In Pakistan Lasting Into Fall, New York Times, May 6, 2002.
- ³⁸ James Dao, "Commander Sees at Least Another Year in Afghanistan," New York Times, June 19, 2002.
- ³⁹ James Dao, "Commander Sees at Least Another Year in Afghanistan," *New York Times* June 19, 2002.
- ⁴⁰ James Dao, Doubts Now Raised Over Extending Force Beyond Kabul, New York Times, September 18,
- ⁴¹ John F. Burns, Afghan President Escapes Bullets; 25 Killed by Bomb, New York Times, September 6, 2002.
- ⁴² Carlotta Gal, "In Afghanistan, Violence Stalls Renewal Effort," New York Times, April 26, 2003
- ⁴³ Pamela Constable, "Key Security Initiatives Founder in Afghanistan, "Washington Post, September 19, 2003.
- ⁴⁴ Amy Waldman and Dexter Filkins, "2 U.S. Fronts: Quick Wars, but Bloody Peace," September 19, 2003.
- ⁴⁵ Eric Schmitt and David Rohde, "Taliban Fighters Increase Attacks," New York Times, August 1, 2004.
- ⁴⁶ Eric Schmitt and David Rohde, "Taliban Fighters Increase Attacks," New York Times, August 1, 2004.
- ⁴⁷ "The New Afghan Army is Struggling," *The Economist*, September 9, 2004. ⁴⁸ "The New Afghan Army is Struggling," *The Economist*, September 9, 2004.
- ⁴⁹ Judy Dempsey, "NATO Role in Training Iraqi Army Takes Shape," *International Herald Tribune*, October 4, 2004.
- ⁵⁰ Pamela Constable, "As Afghan Vote Nears, Taliban Isn't Only Worry;
- Many Cite Intimidation By Local Militia Leaders," Washington Post, October 4, 2004.
- ⁵¹ Victoria Burnett, "NATO Expects to Station Troops in North-West Afghanistan in 2005," Financial Times, November 3, 2004.
- ⁵² Victoria Burnett, "NATO Expects to Station Troops in North-West Afghanistan in 2005," Financial Times, November 3, 2004.
- ⁵³ John Lancaster, "At Inauguration, Karzai Vows Action on Tough Issues," Washington Post, December 8,
- ⁵⁴ John Lancaster, "At Inauguration, Karzai Vows Action on Tough Issues," Washington Post, December 8, 2004.
- ⁵⁵ Peter Spiegel, "Poppy Crackdown Could Alienate Warlords and Imperil Afghan Poll, Say US Generals," Financial Times, January 3, 2005.
- ⁵⁶ Victoria Burnett and Peter Spiegel, "Fear of Fighting and Economic Ruin Hold Back Bid to Stamp Out Opium," Financial Times, January 4, 2004.
- ⁵⁷ Keith B. Richburg and Robin Wright, "Rice, Rumsfeld Make Overtures to NATO," Washington Post, February 10, 2005.
- 58 Keith B. Richburg and Robin Wright, "Rice, Rumsfeld Make Overtures to NATO," Washington Post, February 10, 2005.
- ⁵⁹ "NATO in Afghanistan Factsheet," (www.nato.int/issues/afghanistan/040628-factsheet.htm.[September] 9,20041).
- ⁶⁰ Carlotta Gall, Killings Drive Doctor Group to Leave Afghanistan," New York Times, July 28, 2004.
- ⁶¹ Victoria Burnett, "Chinese Workers Killed In Attack on Afghan Camp, Financial Times, June 11, 2004. Victoria Burnett, "Kabul Bomb Blast Kills Seven," Financial Times, August 30, 2004.
- ⁶² David Rohde, "Pakistan Vows to Stop Taliban; Westerners Just Scoff," New York Times, August 24,
- ⁶³ Eric Schmitt and David Rohde, "Taliban Fighters Increase Attacks," New York Times, August 1, 2004. According to Afghan intelligence official.
- ⁶⁴ Keith B. Richburg, "Rivalries, Divisions Take Toll on Taliban," Washington Post, November 19, 2004.
- ⁶⁵ Islamic State of Afghanistan: Staff-Monitored Program," International Monetary Fund, April 16, 2004. Country Report no 04/110. (www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2004/cr04110.pdf [September 1, 2004]).
- 66 Victoria Burnett and Peter Spiegel, "Fear of Fighting and Economic Ruin Hold Back Bid to Stamp Out Opium," Financial Times, January 4, 2004.
- ⁶⁷ Islamic State of Afghanistan: Staff-Monitored Program," *International Monetary Fund*, April 16, 2004. Country Report no 04/110, (www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2004/cr04110.pdf [September 1, 2004]).

⁶⁸ For 2001/2002 and 2002/2003 see Islamic State of Afghanistan: Staff-Monitored Program," International Monetary Fund, April 16, 2004. Country Report no 04/110. (www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2004/cr04110.pdf [September 1, 2004]). For 2003/2004 and 2004/2005 see "Islamic State of Afghanistan: Concluding Statement of the First Quarterly Review Under the Staff-Monitored Program," *International Monetary Fund*, August 5, 2004,

(www.imf.org/external/np/ms/2004/080504.htm, [September 1, 2004]).

⁷⁰ For 2002/2003 and 2004/2005 see Islamic State of Afghanistan: Staff-Monitored Program," International Monetary Fund, April 16, 2004. Country Report no 04/110. (www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2004/cr04110.pdf [September 1, 2004]). For 2003/2004 see "Islamic State of Afghanistan: Concluding Statement of the First Quarterly Review Under the Staff-Monitored

State of Afghanistan: Concluding Statement of the First Quarterly Review Under the Staff-Monitored Program," *International Monetary Fund*, August 5, 2004, (www.imf.org/external/np/ms/2004/080504.htm, [September 1, 2004]).

- ⁷¹ For pre-war estimate see "Two Decades of Conflict Cost US\$240 Billion, Now Afghanistan Will Need US\$27.5 Billion to Recover, *World Bank Group*, Press Release, March 30, 2004.
- ⁷² Afghanistan: National Human Development Report 2004: Security with a Human Face, Challenges and Responsabilities," UNDP, 2004. (www.undp.org.af/nhdr_download.htm [February 23, 2005]). p. 66.

⁷³ Carlotta Gall, "Afghan Students Are Back, But Not the Old Textbooks," New York Times, December 27, 2004.

- ⁷⁴ For March 2004, see "Two Decades of Conflict Cost US\$240 Billion, Now Afghanistan Will Need US\$27.5 Billion to Recover, *World Bank Group*, Press Release, March 30, 2004. For June 2004 electricity estimate see "World Bank Helps Afghanistan Improve Electricity Systems," *World Bank Group*, Press Release, June 22, 2004.
- ⁷⁵ Securing Afghanistan's Future: Accomplishments and the Strategic Path Forward, "A Government/ International Agency Report, March 17, 2004
- ⁷⁶ Afghanistan: National Human Development Report 2004: Security with a Human Face, Challenges and Responsabilities," UNDP, 2004. (www.undp.org.af/nhdr_download.htm [February 23, 2005]). p. 58.

 ⁷⁷ "Passing the Hat Round for the Rebuilders," *The Economist*, April 3, 2004.
- ⁷⁸ "Assistance to Afghanistan (2004-2005): Note by the Administrator," *Executive Board of the United Nations Development Programme and of the United Nations Population Fund*, 30 July 2003. DP/2003/36).
- Tim McGirk and Michael Ware, "Remember Afghanistan?" *Time Magazine*, March 8, 2004.
- ⁸⁰ Carlotta Gall, "Afghan Living Standards Among The Lowest, U.N. Finds," *New York Times*, February 21, 2005.
- ⁸¹ Christopher Marquis, "Led by U.S., Nations Pledge Billions to Revive Afghanistan," New York Times, April 1, 2004.
- ⁸² "Afghanistan Reconstruction: Deteriorating Security and Limited Resources Have Impeded Progress; Improvements in U.S. Strategy Needed," General Accounting Office, GAO-04-403, June 2004.
- Afghanistan: National Human Development Report 2004: Security with a Human Face, Challenges and Responsabilities," UNDP, 2004. (www.undp.org.af/nhdr_download.htm [February 23, 2005]). p. 57.
 Afghanistan: National Human Development Report 2004: Security with a Human Face, Challenges and
- Responsabilities," UNDP, 2004. (www.undp.org.af/nhdr download.htm [February 23, 2005]). p. 63. 85"Decision of the Joint Electoral Management Body," Joint Electoral Management Body, 3 November, 2004. (www.elections-afghanistan.org.af/Election%20Results%20Website/english/english.htm [February 23, 2005]).
- ⁸⁶ 17,100 Afghans interviews in 26 Afghan provinces and in Pakistan. (www.iri.org/pdfs/survey102104.ppt [November 13, 2004]).
- ⁸⁷ "Afghans on Security and Elections," Poll cited by the Washington Post, October 4, 2004. Poll conducted in six Afghan provincial capitals. A total of 763 people answered the questionnaire.
- ⁸⁸ "Afghans Most Concerned About Security, "Media Release, July 27, 2004. 2, 378 voters across Afghanistan were interviewed between March and April 2004. The margin of error is 2.05%. (www.iri.org/7-27-04-afghans.asp [September 15, 2004]).

⁶⁹ "Remember Afghanistan?," Time Magazine, March 8, 2004.

^{89 &}quot;Majority of Afghans Say Country Heading in Right Direction, Despite Security, Economic Concerns," The Asia Foundation, News, July 13, 2004. Interview were made with 804 randomly selected male and females over 18. The survey was conducted in 28 of the 32 provinces between February 22 and March 13, 2004. The margin of sampling error was ± -3.5 %.

⁽www.asiafoundation.org/Locations/afghanistan_survey.html [September 2, 2004].

90 Asia Foundation poll quoted in Carlotta Gall, "Karzai Trying to Regain Political Backing," New York Times, August 10, 2004.

⁹¹ Asia Foundation poll quoted in Carlotta Gall, "Karzai Trying to Regain Political Backing," New York Times, August 10, 2004.

92 As quoted by Mark L. Schneider, sr. Vice President, International Crisis Group in a testimony to the

Senate Foreign Relations Committee on "Afghanistan – Continuing Challenges," May 12, 2004.